

KIRAKOS OF GANJAK ON THE MONGOLS

Author(s): JOHN ANDREW BOYLE

Source: *Central Asiatic Journal*, Vol. 8, No. 3 (September 1963), pp. 199-205, 207-214

Published by: [Harrassowitz Verlag](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41926583>

Accessed: 07-07-2015 05:27 UTC

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at <http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp>

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.



Harrassowitz Verlag is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Central Asiatic Journal*.

<http://www.jstor.org>

KIRAKOS OF GANJAK ON THE MONGOLS*

by

JOHN ANDREW BOYLE

Manchester

INTRODUCTION

Of the Armenian historians of the Mongol conquests Kirakos of Ganjak (1201-1272) is without question the most important. His account is much fuller and more detailed than that of his contemporary Vardan Arawelçi (born between 1200 and 1210, died *ca.* 1270);¹ over Grigor of Akner (1250-1335), whose work was recently edited and translated by Robert P. Blake and Richard N. Frye,² he enjoyed the advantage of writing from personal experience of the invasion, in the course of which he had been captured by the Mongols and forced to serve them as one of their secretaries.³ His record of these events is most readily available in the extracts from his work translated by Dulaurier in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1858;⁴ the complete translation by Brosset (Moscow, 1870)⁵ is a rarity which few libraries possess. The Armenian original was published for the first time in Moscow in 1858, then in Venice in 1865 and again in Tiflis in 1909.⁶ Collating these three editions with the 30 manuscripts preserved in Matenadaran K. A. Melik'-Öhanjanyan provided us, in 1961, with a text that at last fulfils the requirements of modern scholarship.⁷

* For a list of the abbreviations used in this article see below, p. 187-9. The Armenian character is transliterated according to the system of Meillet in his *Altarmenisches Elementarbuch* except that *γ* is substituted for his *l* and that underlined *p*, *t*, *k* and *č* are used instead of *b*, *d*, *g* and *j* and underlined *b*, *d*, *g* and *j* instead of *p*, *t*, *k*, and *č* when the Cilician or Western pronunciation appears to be indicated.

¹ For details of the edition used see Abbreviations under Vardan.

² For details of this edition and translation see Abbreviations under Grigor.

³ For his own account of this experience see Mo, pp. 243-252, Dulaurier, pp. 222-231. See also Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, Part III, pp. 26-28.

⁴ See Abbreviations under Dulaurier.

⁵ See Abbreviations under Brosset.

⁶ Only the Venice edition has been accessible to me. The Tiflis edition, according to MO, xcii, note, is simply an inaccurate reproduction of the Moscow text.

⁷ See Abbreviations under MO.

It is upon the basis of this excellent edition that I have prepared an annotated translation of perhaps the most interesting chapter in Kirakos's work.⁸ Writing *ca.* 1241⁹ he interrupts the narration of events to give, for the benefit of posterity, a brief description of the appearance, customs and speech of the invaders. The importance of his word-list, one of the earliest monuments of the Mongol language, has long been recognized;¹⁰ but the data on the beliefs and practices of the Mongols, which supplement and amplify our information from other sources, are also of great value. A detailed discussion of these data will be found in the relevant footnotes, but special mention should perhaps be made of the story of Genghis Khan's miraculous birth, heard from the lips of "a great man among the great commanders", Դտ'ուն Նւին, i.e. Qutuqtu Noyan.¹¹ This is of course the legend of Alan Qo'a, the mythical ancestress of the Imperial House, told here of Genghis Khan's own mother;¹² and it is the oldest version of the legend that has come down to us.¹³

TRANSLATION

A brief description of the appearance of the T'at'ar

Because we wish to leave a memorial to the generations that are to come, for we look forward with hope to salvation from the tribulations which have encompassed us, we shall display to the curious something of their appearance and speech.

They were¹⁴ hideous and frightful to look upon, having no beards, though some of them had a few hairs on the chin or on the lips. Their eyes were narrow and quick-glancing, their voices shrill and piercing: they were long-lived and hardy.¹⁵

⁸ MO, pp. 271-275, Dulaurier, pp. 248-253. See also Howorth, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-35.

⁹ In the immediately following chapter (MO, p. 278, Dulaurier, p. 255) he gives the current year as 690 of the Armenian era (20th January, 1241-19th January, 1242).

¹⁰ It is reproduced by Howorth, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

¹¹ See below, note ²⁰.

¹² See Haenisch, p. 3, Krause, p. 8, Smirnova, p. 14; also Grousset, *Le Conquérant du monde*, pp. 12-18.

¹³ Two of the sources belong to the 14th century: the *Ĵāmi'-at-Tawārīx* was completed in 1310-11 and the *Yüan shih* in 1369. The date of the third source, the *Secret History of the Mongols*, is uncertain: it may well have not been reduced to writing till some time in the second half of the 13th century. See Arthur Waley, "Notes on the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-chih*", *BSOAS*, XXIII 3, pp. 523-529 (p. 529).

¹⁴ The imperfect instead of the present tense because Kirakos is addressing himself to posterity.

¹⁵ Such was the impression left upon most observers. Cf. Grigor, pp. 294-296. Ricoldo, p. 114, speaks of the "horrible and monstrous nation of the Tartars", who

When the occasion offered they ate continually and drank insatiably; when it did not, they were abstemious. They ate all living creatures, clean and unclean,¹⁶ and they most esteemed the flesh of the horse,¹⁷ cutting it limb from limb and boiling or roasting it without salt; then they carved it up small, soaked it in salt water and ate it thus.¹⁸ Some of them ate kneeling, like camels,¹⁹ and some sitting, and when eating they shared alike between masters and servants. And when drinking *ymuz*²⁰ and wine one of them took it into his hands in a large vessel and having drawn some out in a small cup scattered it skywards and then to the east and west and south and north; and then he that scattered it having drunk a little of it offered it to the most senior person.²¹ And if anyone brought them food or drink they first caused the bearer to eat or drink it and then ate or drank it themselves, lest they might be deceived by some deadly poison.²²

differed from all the other peoples of the world "in persona, moribus et ritu. In persona autem, quia habent magnas et latas facies et oculos paruos, quasi fissuras quasdam per transversum in media facie, et paruam barbam, ita quod multi eorum similes sunt simie, et maxime senes."

¹⁶ The fullest account of their indiscriminate diet is given by Carpini (Rockhill, pp. 63-4, note 3). It included "dogs, wolves, foxes, and horses, and when pushed by necessity human flesh. They also ate *ablusiones quae egrediuntur de iumentis cum pullis*. I have also seen them eat lice, saying: 'Why should I not eat them that eat my son's flesh and drink his blood?' I have seen them also eat rats."

¹⁷ The Armenians and Georgians shared to the full the prejudice of their fellow-Christians in Europe against the eating of horse-flesh. Both the *vardapet* Vanakan and Awag Mxargrjeli are represented by Kirakos as refusing this food when offered by their Mongol captors. See MO, pp. 250-251 and 257 and Dulaurier, pp. 228-229 and 235-236. In the Caucasus, as in Europe, the prejudice is probably to be traced back to what was originally the discouragement of a pagan practice. See Frederick J. Simoons, *Eat Not This Flesh*, Madison, 1961, pp. 83-84.

¹⁸ In this way, according to Rubruck (Rockhill, p. 65), they could feed fifty to a hundred men on the flesh of a single sheep, "for they cut it up very fine in a platter with salt and water, for they make no other sauce; and then with the point of a knife or fork which they make for the purpose, like that which we use to eat coddled pears or apples, they give to each of the bystanders a mouthful or two according to the number of the guests." So too Ibn-Baṭṭūṭa (Gibb II, p. 495) describes how amongst the princes of the Golden Horde the *bawurči* or steward would cut the meat (boiled mutton or horseflesh) into small pieces in a gold or silver platter containing salt dissolved in water.

¹⁹ I.e. on both knees, presumably in the presence of a superior. When Rubruck was received in audience by Batu he was ordered to kneel and speak. He bent one knee, "as to a man," but was given to understand that he should bend both; and finding himself in this posture imagined himself to be "praying God". See Rockhill, p. 124.

²⁰ Pronounced, in accordance with the rules of Armenian orthography, *ymuz*. This is of course the Turkish *qimiz* "kumys".

²¹ Rubruck (Rockhill, pp. 60-61) describes this ceremony in great detail: "And when they have come together to drink, they first sprinkle with liquor this image which is over the master's head [in the *yurt*], then the other images in order. Then an

They took as many wives as they liked, but they in no way spared adulterers with their wives,²³ though they themselves had commerce with strange women indiscriminately wherever they found them. And they detested theft to such an extent that they punished it with a most evil death.²⁴

And they had no religion or form of worship, but they used continually to mention the name of God.²⁵ Whether they thanked the Being of God or called someone else God, we do not know nor did they themselves.

attendant goes out of the dwelling with a cup and liquor, and sprinkles three times to the south, each time bending the knee, and that to do reverence to the air; then to the west to do reverence to the water; to the north they sprinkle for the dead. When the master takes the cup in hand and is about to drink, he first pours a portion on the ground. If he were to drink seated on a horse, he first before he drinks pours a little on the neck or the mane of the horse. Then when the attendant has sprinkled toward the four quarters of the world he goes back into the house, where two attendants are ready with two cups and platters to carry drink to the master and the wife seated near him upon the couch." It will be noted that Rubruck makes no mention of the attendant's sprinkling any of the liquid "skywards". This is however explicitly stated by Qazvīnī: "When they drink wine they first toss a cup into the air and say 'This is the sun's share'." So too when concluding a treaty with anyone they prostrated themselves before the sun, then tossed a cup of wine into the air and each of them drank a cup. [I am indebted to Dr. C. R. Bawden for the following references: "On the subject of skyward libations cf. *Secret History*, transl. Haenisch, p. 23. Temüjin is giving thanks to the mountain Burqan Qaldun: – "und er schlug mit seiner Hand an seine Brust und mit neunmaligem Kniefall bot er der Sonne Streuopfer und Anbetung." The Mo. word for *Streuopfer* is *sačuli*. For the continued use of this in modern times cf. Mostaert, *Dictionnaire ordos*, 190a, 'action de répandre un liquide sous forme de gouttes comme offrande', and in a phrase with *ingri-dü*: 'faire une aspersion comme offrande au ciel.'"]

²² I can find no evidence of this practice in the other sources. Juvainī records several instances (*HWC*, pp. 211, 213, 225 and 229 30) of the Great Khan Ögedei's accepting presents of food but in no case mentions such a precaution. So too Rubruck (Rockhill, p. 212) relates how Möngke at once began to eat one of the "two little loaves of blessed bread" which, together with a platter of fruit, had been offered him by the Friar's Nestorian companions.

²³ Brosset, p. 134, has misunderstood this passage: "Ils prenaient autant de femmes qu'ils voulaient, sans admettre dans leur nombre celles de mauvaise vie..." Adultery was in fact a capital offence, as is expressly stated by Carpini and Rubruck. See Dawson, p. 17, Rockhill, pp. 79-80 and note 2.

²⁴ Only what Rubruck called "grand larceny" – both Marco Polo and Ibn-Battūta specify horse-stealing – was so punished: for lesser thefts the offender was beaten with a stick, the number of blows depending on the value of what he had stolen. See Dawson, *loc. cit.*, Rockhill, p. 80, Benedetto, pp. 88-89, Gibb II, pp. 473-4. What Kirakos calls "a most evil death" was, according to Marco Polo, *loc. cit.*, to be cut in half with a sword.

²⁵ The reference is of course to Tengri (Tenggeri in Mongol). See the series of four articles by Jean-Paul Roux, "Tängri. Essai sur le Ciel-Dieu des peuples altaïques", *RHR*, CXLIX, pp. 49-82 and 197-230, CL, pp. 27-54 and 173-208; also his supplementary article, "Notes additionnelles à Tängri, le Ciel-Dieu des peuples altaïques", *ibid.*, CLIV, pp. 34-66. See also below, note ³⁵.

But usually they said this, that their king was related to God, God having taken the heavens as His share and given the earth to the Xayan;²⁶ for they said that Čangz Gan, the father of the Xayan, was not born of the seed of man, but a light came from the unseen and entered through the skylight of the house and said to his mother: "Conceive and thou shalt give birth to a son [who shall be] emperor of the earth." And by this [light], they said, she bore him.²⁷

This was told us by Grigor the *išxan*,²⁸ the son of Marzpan, the brother of Aslanbēg, Sargis and Amira, of the family of the Mamikonians, who had heard it from a great man from amongst the great commanders, whose name was Դտ'ուն Nuin, ²⁹one day when he was instructing young children.

And when anyone of them died or was put to death, sometimes they carried him around with them for many days, because a devil had entered him and was uttering many idle things;³⁰ and sometimes they burnt him,³¹

²⁶ On the Mongol *qayan* as "son of Heaven" see the third of Roux's articles on Tengri, *RHR*, CL, pp. 27-54 (p. 29).

²⁷ See above, note¹².

²⁸ Grigor's sister Xorišah was the wife of the *išxan* (i.e. prince) K'urd, in whose house, in the village of Vardenis in Aragacotn, King Het'um passed some time both on the outward journey to Mongolia and also on the return journey. See MO, pp. 364-365 and 370, Dulaurier, pp. 464 and 471.

²⁹ Դտ'ուն Nuin is mentioned once again in a later chapter (MO, p. 291, Dulaurier, p. 440) as a "great man" whose daughter was given in marriage to Bora, the son of Čormaqan: the marriage feast was held in the camp of Čormaqan's widow (on whose name *Elteni (Altani see Cleaves, pp. 410-411) and was attended by the Catholicos of the Albanians. He is unquestionably to be identified with the Xut't'u Nuin of Grigor (cf. the latter's T'ut'tu Nuin *vis-à-vis* Kirakos's Tut'un Nuin, on which see below, note ⁹⁷), the name, as Cleaves, p. 435, has suggested, being the Mongol *Qutuqtu* (*Qutuqtu*) "Saint". (Sir Gerard Clauson points out that *qutuqtu*, which came later to mean "holy man", etymologically means no more than "enjoying divine favour" (Mongol *qutuq* < T. *qut*); and he suggests that here it is merely a Mongol translation of the T. *qutluy*, which has exactly that meaning.) One is tempted to see in this commander the third son of Tolui (the second according to the *Yüan shih*), of whom we know only that his mother was Linqum Xatun, the daughter of the Naiman Küčlüg and that he had a son Tükel-Buqa (who died in adolescence) by a Qipčaq concubine, a daughter Kelmiš Aqa, apparently by the same mother, and another daughter Širin by a Baya'ut woman. Kelmiš Aqa was married to Salji'utai, a Qonqirat *noyan* in the service of the Golden Horde. Her husband died in 701 (1301-2) and Rašid-ad-Dīn speaks of her as being still alive and held in high esteem by the contemporary ruler of the Golden Horde Toqta (1291-1312). See Hambis, *Le chapitre CVII du Yuan che*, p. 88 and note 2, Blochet, pp. 202-203 and 567-569. That Qutuqtu, the son of Tolui, should have served under Čormaqan is not of itself impossible; but there is unfortunately no record that either of his daughters (Širin was married to Tuqči Küregen of the Hūšin) had contracted an earlier marriage to Čormaqan's son.

³⁰ Kirakos had previously referred to an order of the Xayan (i.e. Ögedei) that if Čormaqan died his bones (not his body, as Dulaurier translates it) were to be carried around with the army, but for a quite different reason, *viz.* because he had been ex-

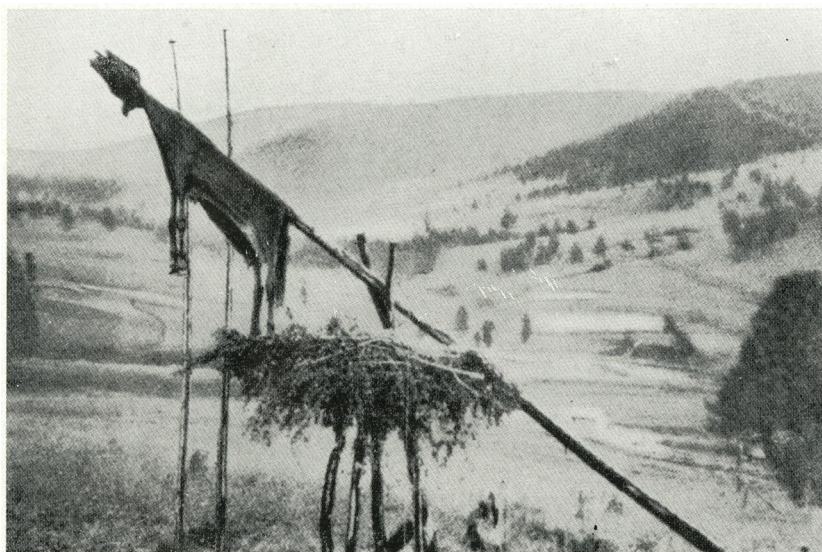
and sometimes they buried him in a deep grave, and with him they laid his arms and clothing, and gold and silver, and whatever belonged to him. And if it was one of their great men, they laid some of his men-servants and maid-servants with him in the tomb, because, they said, they might wait on him, and also a horse, because, they said, there would be fierce fighting there.³² And when they wished to have a memorial of the dead

tremely fortunate in all his undertakings and was a man of great merit. See MO, p. 265, Dulaurier, p. 243. I can find no mention of such a practice elsewhere.

³¹ No other medieval authority speaks of the Mongols' burning their dead. Altunian, p. 60, note 7, is mistaken in attributing such a statement to Rubruck, who in point of fact refers to this practice only amongst the Buddhist Uiyur. See Rockhill, p. 147 and note 3. However a curious passage in Nasawī does seem to indicate that some form of cremation was practised by the 13th century Mongols. It was their custom, he says, to burn the bones of the rulers of every land, believing as they did that all rulers were descended from a common ancestor. In accordance with this custom they had exhumed and burnt the bones of Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghazna, and Nasawī feared lest the same might happen to Sultan Muḥammad when his remains were removed from the Caspian island on which he had died to a castle in the Elburz mountains. His fears were justified, since after the death of Sultan Jalāl-ad-Dīn the Mongols laid siege to the castle, dug up the bones and sent them to the Xaqan (i.e. Ögedei), who caused them to be burnt. See HWC, p. 387, note 77.

Cremation was, and still is in remote areas, far from Russian settlements, the normal practice of the Buryat Mongols. Three days after the ceremony the friends and relations of the deceased return to the scene of the cremation, collect the charred bones in a birchbark vessel and bury them in the ground or, in the case of a shaman, in a hole bored in the trunk of the tallest pine tree in the vicinity. See Harva, pp. 296-299, Ivan A. Lopatin, *The Cult of the Dead amongst the Natives of the Amur Basin* (The Hague, 1960), pp. 75-78. On the practice of the Orkhon Turks, who according to the Chinese sources abandoned cremation for burial about the beginning of the 7th century, see Barthold, *Les Turcs d'Asie Centrale*, pp. 15-16, Jean-Paul Roux, "La Religion des Turcs de l'Orkhon des VII^e et VIII^e siècles" (second article), *RHR*, CLXI, pp. 199-231, (p. 220). Cf. the similar change in the funeral customs of the Germanic peoples in the period from the 5th century onwards: in Scandinavia cremation continued until late in the Viking Age. See Édouard Salin, *La Civilisation mérovingienne*, II (Paris, 1952), pp. 2-5 and 253-254, Hilda R. Ellis, *The Road to Hel* (Cambridge, 1943), pp. 7-12 and 30-34.

³² These elaborate provisions for life in the after-world are similarly described by Vincent of Beauvais and Carpini. See Rockhill, pp. 80-81, note 2. Cf. also Ricoldo, X, 1-11. Juvaini and Vaṣṣāf have left descriptions of the burials of Genghis-Khan and Hülegü respectively (HWC, p. 189 and note 30); cf. also Ibn-Baṭṭūṭa's more detailed description of the burial of some Mongol prince, not, as he alleges, the Yüan Emperor (Gibb I, pp. 299-300). Jūzjānī's account of the ceremony (Raverty, p. 1173) is less well known: "They buried him [i.e. Batu] in conformity with the Mughal custom; and among that people it is the usage, when one of them dies, to prepare a place under ground about the size of a chamber or hall, in largeness proportionate to the rank and degree of the accursed one who may have departed to hell. They furnish it with a throne and covering for the ground, and they place there vessels and numerous effects, together with his arms and weapons, and whatever may have been his own private property, and some of his wives, and slaves, male or female, and the person he loved most above all others. When they have placed that accursed one upon the



“Oïrot” horse sacrifice*

*From an article by Kurt Lubinski entitled “Bei den Schamanen der Ursibirier — der Kampf der Sowjetunion gegen den Medizinmann” in the *Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung* of the 25th November, 1928. I am indebted to Messrs. Ullstein, the former publishers of this journal, for a photostat of Herr Lubinski’s article.

man, they ripped open the belly of a horse and pulled out all the flesh without bones, and then they burnt the intestines and bones and sewed up the skin of the horse as though it had its whole body. Having sharpened a great pole they thrust it in the belly and pulled it out through the mouth; and thus they raised it up on a tree or some elevated place.³³

throne, they bury his most beloved along with him in that place. In the night-time the place is covered up, and horses are driven over it, in such a manner that not a trace of it remains."

The Qipčaq (Coman) ceremony as described by Joinville (Hague, p. 151) is more or less identical with the Mongol. On the similar burial practices which displaced cremation amongst the Germanic peoples see Salin, *op. cit.*, pp. 227-255. In Scandinavia "the simplicity which had marked funeral rites in the seventh and eighth centuries was suddenly replaced ... by a new elaboration in the choice of grave-goods for all classes of people. The dead were given as complete an equipment as possible of personal possessions, weapons, tools, and household equipment, while animals were sacrificed to accompany them; and in the funerals of the greatest folk, whether men or women, the array of treasures and the sacrifices were on a magnificent scale. It seems probable that human beings were sacrificed as well as animals, but we have no definite proof of this." See Ellis, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-14.

³³ Similar details are given by Vincent of Beauvais and Carpini. See Rockhill, *loc. cit.* Ricoldo, X, 8, adds the information that the horse is first ridden around until it drops of exhaustion and that its head is then washed in "pure and strong wine". The former particular is mentioned by Ibn-Baṭṭūṭa, *loc. cit.* The "pure and strong wine" was presumably kumys. Cf. the practice of the Kalmucks, in their spring festival, of pouring kumys over the sacrificial horses, on which see Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia*, p. 304. Rubruck (Rockhill, p. 82) saw sixteen such horse skins suspended over the grave of a person recently dead, "four facing each quarter of the world". The four poles over the grave described by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa were presumably orientated in similar fashion. The raising of these poles can hardly have been intended, as stated by Kirakos, simply to serve as a memorial of the dead man. In modern times the practice of thus impaling animals – horses, sheep or goats – seems to have been limited to such occasions as seasonal sacrifices to the gods. On these sacrifices amongst the Kalmucks see Czaplicka, *loc. cit.*; on the horse sacrifice as practised by the Altai Turks, the so-called Oirot, see Czaplicka, *op. cit.*, pp. 298-9, Harva, pp. 553-6 and 564, and Mircea Eliade, *Le Chamanisme et les techniques archaïques de l'extase*, pp. 175-7. A form of this curious impaling ceremony is recorded amongst the Vikings. Mrs. N. K. Chadwick, *Poetry & Prophecy* (Cambridge, 1942), p. 76, refers to the story of "Egil Skallagrimsson raising a horse's head on a pole and turning it to all corners of the heavens in order to lay a curse on his enemy by frightening the spirits of the land". See also *Egil's Saga*, transl. and ed. E. R. Eddison, Cambridge, 1930, pp. 130-31. In the *Vatnsdalers' Saga* (transl. and ed. Gwyn Jones, Princeton, 1944, p. 93) it is related how Jokul Ingimundson having prepared such a "scorn-pole", "slew a mare, opened her by the breastbone and set her on the pole, and had her turned towards Borg", i.e. in the direction of his enemies. The ostensible purpose of the "scorn-pole", with the "baneful runes" which were carved upon it, was to insult and ridicule an opponent. "But, apart from this, the theory underlying Egil's procedure was no doubt that the ugly and ghastly spectacle of the horse's skull would frighten the land-spirits into obeying the injunctions contained in the runes" (Eddison, *op. cit.*, pp. 249-250). Here perhaps is the explanation of the horse hides erected over Mongol graves: they were intended to serve not as a monument but as a protection against attack by malignant spirits. Cf. the Persian custom, referred to by Juvainī and Sa'dī, of hanging up a donkey's

Furthermore, their women were sorceresses and prophesied all things,³⁴ and without the command of their sorcerers and magicians they did not go upon a journey in any direction, unless they commanded it.

But their speech also [was] barbarous and unknown to us, for they called the name of God *t'angri*,³⁵ and man *ērē*,³⁶ *haran*,³⁷ and woman *ēmē*,³⁸ *ap'ji*,³⁹ and the name of father *ēč'ga*,⁴⁰ and mother *ak'a*,⁴¹ and brother *aya*,⁴² and sister *ak'ači*,⁴³ and head *t'irōn*,⁴⁴ and eyes *niḍun*⁴⁵ and ears *č'ik'in*,⁴⁶ and beard *saxal*,⁴⁷ and face *yiwz*,⁴⁸ *niur*,⁴⁹ and mouth *aman*,⁵⁰

head in a vegetable garden in order to ward off the evil eye. See *HWC*, p. 427 and note 5.

³⁴ So Brosset, p. 135: "... leurs femmes s'occupaient de magie et devinaient à tout propos..." Dulaurier, p. 250, has misunderstood this passage: "Leurs femmes étaient magiciennes, et jetaient des charmes sur tout." On the basis of Dulaurier's version Rockhill, p. 239, note 2, remarks that "Armenian chronicles of the thirteenth century attribute to the Mongol women great powers as witches." But the reference is clearly to powers of divination or clairvoyance and not to witchcraft, which was a capital offence among the Mongols. See Rockhill, pp. 80 and 243-244. Fāṭima, the favourite of Ögedei's widow Töregene, was executed for this crime; so was Güyük's son Xoḷa and his widow Oyul-Taimiš, of whom Rubruck was told by Möngke that she "was the worst kind of witch, and that she had destroyed her whole family by witchcraft". See *HWC*, pp. 245 and 246-247, also Rockhill, p. 250. Kirakos would seem therefore to be speaking of female shamans, whose existence is of course well attested for modern times. In general they are not regarded as in any way equal in power and importance to their male counterparts, but there have been, "especially among the Buryats, many famous female shamans, worshipped after their death by their relations". See Holmberg, p. 499, also Harva, pp. 450-452. In the medieval period I know of only one other reference to these women. Qazvīni tells the story of a woman taken prisoner by the Mongols and accused of poisoning (or perhaps bewitching) her master: her innocence is established by a magical process presided over by a "sorceress" (*imra'a sāhira*), who appears holding a sickle which she twirls in her hand. On female shamans amongst the Qitan see Albert E. Dien, "A possible early occurrence of Altaic *Iduḡan*", *CAJ*, II(1, pp. 12-20, also Karl A. Wittfogel and Fêng Chia-shêng, *History of Chinese Society: Liao* (907-1125), pp. 217 and 256.

³⁵ I.e. Tengri, the Turkish from of the word. See above, note ²⁵. Here, a century before the *Codex Cumanicus*, the word is used to express the Christian concept of God. See Roux, "Tängri" (third article), p. 82.

³⁶ Mo. *er-e*.

³⁷ On *haran* (*aran*) "man (of the people)" see Ligeti, p. 31, *s.v.* The word occurs in Mo. normally only in the plural form *arat* "(common) people".

³⁸ Mo. *em-e*.

³⁹ The Coman (Qipčaq) *epči* "woman, wife" (< *evči* "housewife").

⁴⁰ Mo. *ečige*.

⁴¹ Mo. *eke*.

⁴² Mo. *ag-a* "elder brother".

⁴³ Mo. *egeči* "elder sister".

⁴⁴ Mo. *terigün* (*teri'ün*).

⁴⁵ Mo. *niḍun*.

⁴⁶ Mo. *čiki(n)*.

⁴⁷ Mo. *saqal*.

⁴⁸ T. *yüz*.

and tooth *sxur*,⁵¹ *sidun*,⁵² and bread *ot'mak*,⁵³ and ox *ōk'ar*,⁵⁴ and cow *unēn*,⁵⁵ and sheep *yoyna*,⁵⁶ and lamb *yuryan*,⁵⁷ and goat *iman*,⁵⁸ and horse *mōri*,⁵⁹ and mule *lōsa*,⁶⁰ and camel *t'aman*,⁶¹ and dog *nōxay*,⁶² and wolf *č'ina*,⁶³ and bear *ayt'gu*,⁶⁴ and fox *honk'an*,⁶⁵ and hare *t'ablay*, *t'ulay*,⁶⁶ and fowl *t'axea*,⁶⁷ and pigeon *k'ok'uč'in*,⁶⁸ and eagle *burk'ui*,⁶⁹ *yuš*,⁷⁰

⁴⁹ Mo. *niyur* (*ni'ur*).

⁵⁰ Mo. *aman*.

⁵¹ & ⁵² The Mo. word is *šidün*. In two MSS. the text runs “and tooth *sxur*, teeth *sidun*”. I can trace no Mongol or Turkish word like *sxur* meaning tooth, but this alternative reading does suggest a possible solution. Perhaps Kirakos, when committing this vocabulary to writing, confused *sidün* “tooth” with *nidün* “eye” and it was the latter word that was meant to be translated in its singular and plural forms, *sxur* in that case representing some variant of the Mongol *soqor*, “one-eyed, blind”, which, in the former sense, could be regarded as a sort of singular of *nidün*.

⁵³ On *ōtmek*, an earlier form of T. *etmek* see Leech, p. 143, s.v. *ukpang*.

⁵⁴ Mo. *üker*.

⁵⁵ Mo. *üniyen*.

⁵⁶ This would appear to be a contamination of Mongol *qoni(n)* and Turkish (Qıpçaq and Oğuz) *qoyun*.

⁵⁷ Mo. *quriyan*.

⁵⁸ Mo. *imayan* (*ima'an*).

⁵⁹ Mo. *mori(n)*.

⁶⁰ Mo. *layusa* (*la'usa*) or *luusa*, a borrowing from the Chinese (*lo-tzū*). See Lessing, s.v. Cf. the *لاوسه* *la'usa* of Mustaufi, p. 6. Ibn-Muḥannā, pp. 93 and 141, has *قتر* i.e. the Turkish *qatır*.

⁶¹ Mo. *temegen* (*teme'en*).

⁶² Mo. *noqai*.

⁶³ Mo. *činoa*. On the form *čina* see Leech, p. 131, s.v. *činā*.

⁶⁴ Mo. *ōtege*. For the various forms of the word see Ligeti, p. 61, s.v. *ötöge*.

⁶⁵ Mo. *ünege*. Cf. the form *hünege(n)* represented by the *هنکن* of Mustaufi, p. 19 and the *هناکا* of Ibn-Muḥannā, pp. 93 and 153.

⁶⁶ Mo. *taulai*. “*t'ablay*,” Sir Gerard Clauson points out, “is a form of major importance. The word comes from Turkish *tavişgan* > *l/r* T. **tavilgan*; this form is nearer the Turkish original than even Secret History *ta'ulay*.”

⁶⁷ Mo. *takiy-a*. On the various forms of the word see Ligeti, p. 66, s.v. *tayaqu*.

⁶⁸ A Turkish word, the *kügürčün* of Grønbech, p. 157, and *کورچین* *küverčün* of Houtsma, p. 99. The older form of the word is seen in the Uygur *kögürčün*, which survives in Kāšyārī. Kirakos's *k'ōk'uč'in* is probably a corruption of a form **k'ōk'urč'in*.

Ibn-Muḥannā, p. 148, also has the Turkish word in the form *کُورچی* *kügerči*, with which cf. the *کوکارجی* of Mustaufi, p. 97. The Mongol word (in the form *küče*) is found only in Ligeti, p. 51.

⁶⁹ This must be a corruption of a form **burk'ut*. This word (Mo. *bürgüt*) is recorded by Mustaufi, p. 111, as Turkish, which it is not. According to Pelliot, p. 577, it occurs in some unspecified 14th century Mongol text or texts. It is not in Ligeti, and Ibn-Muḥannā, p. 142, has the Turkish *qara quş*.

⁷⁰ This is the Turkish *quş* “bird”, used perhaps in the specialized sense of “bird of

and water *usun*,⁷¹ and wine *tarasu*,⁷² and sea *naur*,⁷³ *tangaz*,⁷⁴ and river *morān*,⁷⁵ *ulansu*,⁷⁶ and sword *iöldü*,⁷⁷ and bow *nəmu*,⁷⁸ and arrow *səmu*,⁷⁹ and king *melik*,⁸⁰ and baron *nuin*.⁸¹ and great baron *ek'a nuin*,⁸² and earth *əl*, *irgan*,⁸³ and sky *kōkay*,⁸⁴ and sun *naran*,⁸⁵ and moon *sara*,⁸⁶ and stars *sarya*,⁸⁷ *hūdud*,⁸⁸ and day ⁸⁹ *ōdur*,⁹⁰ and night *soyni*,⁹¹ and

prey" or else standing for *qara quš*, which has been the traditional Turkish phrase for "eagle" from the earliest period.

⁷¹ Mo. *usun*.

⁷² Mo. *darusu(n)* and *tarasu(n)*. Cf. Rubruck's *terraccina* (*Rockhill*, pp. 173 and 208).

⁷³ Mo. *nayur* (*na'ur*) "lake".

⁷⁴ Turkish *tengiz* "sea".

⁷⁵ Mo. *müren*.

⁷⁶ I take this to be two words – *ulan*, a corruption of **uzan*, and *su*. These are the Turkish words *özen* "river" and *su* "water", which, according to Sami, *Qāmūs-i*

Turkī, s.v. **ایرماق** (p. 239), are synonyms for a river smaller than a *çai*, which in turn is a tributary to an *irmaq*, a river large enough to flow into the sea. (I am indebted for this reference to the kindness of Sir Gerard Clauson.)

⁷⁷ Mo. *ildü*. Kirakos's spelling would appear to represent the form *yüldü* listed by Ligeti, p. 35, s.v. *hüldü*.

⁷⁸ Mo. *numu(n)*.

⁷⁹ Mo. *sumu(n)*.

⁸⁰ This is of course the Arabic *malik*, on the use of which in the Seljuq period see the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, s.v.

⁸¹ On the Mongol title of *noyan*, see Cleaves, pp. 405–406. On its suggested derivation from the Chinese *lao-yeh* see Pelliot and Hambis, *Histoire des campagnes de Gengis Khan*, p. 178, Hambis, "À propos de la 'Pierre de Gengiskhan'", *Mélanges publiés par l'Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises*, II, pp. 141–152 (p. 155).

⁸² Mo. *yeke* "great". Tolui, the youngest son of Genghis Khan, bore the title of *Yeke-Noyan*, conferred upon him either, as Barthold, *Turkestan*, p. 385, would seem to imply, during his lifetime as "his father's chief assistant in military matters", or else posthumously to avoid the mention of his real name in accordance with the Mongol taboo on the names of the dead. See Boyle, "On the Titles Given in Juvainī to Certain Mongolian Princes", *HJAS*, pp. 146–154 (pp. 146–148).

⁸³ Neither of these words means "earth" (*yafar* or *qafar* in Mongolian, *yer* in Turkish). On the Turkish *əl* see the remarks of Sir Gerard Clauson in Boyle, "The Death of the Last 'Abbāsīd Caliph: A Contemporary Muslim Account", *JSS* VI, pp. 145–161 (pp. 151–152, note 7). Being accompanied here by the Mongol *irgen* "tribe, people" it must obviously be used in the same sense. The mistake is conceivably due to a confusion of *yer* with *əl* on the part of Kirakos himself.

⁸⁴ This is of course Mo. *kōke* "bleu". Here it is easy to see how the mistake arose. Either Kirakos or his informant assumed that, as in the case of the Turkish *kök*, the same Mongol word did service for "bleu" and "sky". The identical mistake is made by Ibn-Muḥannā, p. 148. Perhaps it struck a Christian or Moslem Turk as blasphemous to use the same word (*Tengri* – *Tenggeri*) for both "God" and "sky".

⁸⁵ Mo. *naran*.

⁸⁶ Mo. *sara(n)*.

⁸⁷ I can find no Mongol or Turkish word resembling *sarya* in the required sense. Perhaps this is simply a repetition of the immediately preceding *sara(n)* "moon".

⁸⁸ I.e. *hodud/hodut*, pl. of a form *hodun*, Mo. *odun*.

⁸⁹ *loys* "light", which also means 'ay' in the sense of "daylight".

secretary *bit'ik'c'i*,⁹² and Satan *barahur, ēlēp*,⁹³ and other similar barbarous names, which for many years were unknown to us but have now been taught us against our will.

And their principal leaders, who were set over [the rest], are as follows: The first great one, who was chief and commander of all the forces, Čarmayun Nuin,⁹⁴ a just and righteous man, and those who were his colleagues, Israr Nuin,⁹⁵ Fut'un Nuin,⁹⁶ Tut'un Nuin⁹⁷ and Čayatai,⁹⁸ who was the commander of the army who was killed by the Mulhed.⁹⁹ And there were many other chiefs and troops without number.

⁹⁰ Mo. *ödür*.

⁹¹ Mo. *söni*.

⁹² The Turkish *bitikçi bitigçi* (Grønbech, p. 61) (Houtsma, p. 60) which is also in Ibn-Muḥannā (p. 129).

⁹³ I can identify neither word as either Turkish or Mongol. Cf. the equally inexplicable *بازوی* (*bāzōi*) "angel" in Ligeti, p. 75.

⁹⁴ On the name see Cleaves, pp. 419-420. Kirakos's Čarmayun (Čarmayun) is probably, as he suggests, a mistake for Čawrmayun, or perhaps for Čormayun. On Čormaqan or Čormayun (Carpini's Chirpodan, etc.), the famous commander of the Mongol forces in Western Asia (1231-1241), see Grousset, *L'Empire des steppes*, pp. 235-238 and 420-421.

⁹⁵ The Asar of Grigor (p. 302), in which Cleaves, pp. 407-409, sees a variant form of Qasar. However cf. the Isawur of Vardan (p. 149), the Asawur of Orbelian (*Siounie*, p. 227) and the Ioser of the *History of Georgia* (*ibid.*, note 6), all of which forms point to the identity of the name with the Yasawur (Yasa'ur) of the Muslim historians and Barhebraeus, from whom we learn something of this commander's subsequent career. In 1244 he invaded Syria and advanced to the gates of Aleppo, but withdrew northwards because of the effect of the heat upon his horses. In the course of his withdrawal he passed near Malatya, the birthplace of Barhebraeus, where his troops laid waste the surrounding countryside. Then, being attacked with dysentery, he demanded the services of a physician: Barhebraeus's father was sent and accompanied him as far as Khartabirt (Harpur), where he continued to treat him until he had recovered. In July, 1255, Yasawur again laid waste the Malatya region. In 1256 he was in Hamadān, where he received the envoys of the Ismā'īlī ruler Rukn-ad-Dīn Xur-Šāh; in June of that year he entered the Alamūt valley to attack the Assassins but withdrew shortly afterwards on the instructions of Hülegü. See *Muxtaşar*, p. 446, *Chronography*, pp. xvii, 409 and 420, *HWC*, pp. 712-714. D'Oshson, III, p. 85, identifies Yasawur with the Mongol general who, in the late summer of 1244, called upon Bohemond V of Antioch to demolish the walls of his strongholds, send him the whole revenue of his principality and deliver up to him 3000 young women. His attack on Alamūt is briefly mentioned by Vardan, p. 149.

⁹⁶ See above, note ⁹⁵.

⁹⁷ The T'ut'tu of Grigor. See Cleaves, p. 431.

⁹⁸ On the name see Cleaves, pp. 417-418. According to Rašid-ad-Dīn (Khetagurov, p. 100) Čayatai belonged to the Arulat tribe and was a kinsman of Borji (Bo'orču), the early friend of Genghis-Khan. During the invasion of Northern Armenia and Georgia in 1236 he was responsible for the capture of Lōfē (Lori), as recorded by both Vardan (p. 144) and Kirakos (MO, pp. 253-254, Dulaurier, pp. 231-232). His death at the hands of the Ismā'īlīs is mentioned by Kirakos in a previous chapter (MO, p. 261. Dulaurier, p. 242) and also by Juvainī (*HWC*, p. 724) and Rašid-ad-Dīn (*loc. cit.*),

ABBREVIATIONS

- Altunian – Georg Altunian, *Die Mongolen und ihre Eroberungen in kaukasischen und kleinasiatischen Ländern im XIII. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1911).
- Benedetto – *The Travels of Marco Polo*, ed. L. F. Benedetto, transl. Ricci (London, 1931).
- Brosset – *Deux historiens arméniens Kirakos de Gantzag, Oukhtanès d'Ourha*, transl. M. J. Brosset (St. Petersburg, 1870-71).
- BSOAS – *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*.
- BSOS – *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*.
- Chronography – *The Chronography of Gregory Abu'l Faraj ... commonly known as Bar Hebraeus*, transl. E. A. Wallis Budge (Oxford and London, 1932).
- Cleaves – F. W. Cleaves, "The Mongolian Names and Terms in the *History of the Nation of the Archers* by Grigor of Akanc", *HJAS*, 12, pp. 400-443. (Published in book form in 1954 by the Harvard University Press along with Blake and Frye's edition and translation of Grigor of Akner.)
- Dawson – *The Mongol Mission*, ed. Christopher Dawson (London, 1955).
- Dulaurier – "Les Mongols d'après les historiens arméniens", *JA*, 5th series, XI, pp. 192-255, 426-473 and 481-508.
- Gibb I – *Ibn Baṭṭūṭa: Travels in Asia and Africa 1325-54*, transl. H.A.R. Gibb (London, 1929).
- Gibb II – *The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa A. D. 1325-1354*, II, transl. H. A. R. Gibb (Cambridge, 1962).
- Grigor – "The History of the Nation of the Archers (The Mongols) by Grigor of Akanc", ed. and transl. Robert P. Blake and Richard N. Frye, *HJAS*, 12, pp. 269-399.
(Published also in book form by the Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1954.)
- Grønbech – Kaare Grønbech, *Komanisches Wörterbuch* (Copenhagen, 1942).
- Haenisch – *Die Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen*, transl. Erich Haenisch, 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1948).

Doladai (the Dolada of Vardan, *loc. cit.*, and Ituyatay of Kirakos, MO, pp. 255 and 256, Dulaurier, pp. 233 and 235), who procured the surrender of Awag Mxargrjeli, was, according to Rašid-ad-Dīn, *loc. cit.*, one of Čayatai's sons.

⁹⁹ The Arabic *mulhid*: the term usually applied to the Ismā'īlis of Alamut as heretics *par excellence*.

- Hague – *The Life of St. Louis* by John of Joinville, transl. René Hague, (London, 1955).
- Harva – Uno Harva, *Die religiösen Vorstellungen der altaischen Völker* (Helsinki, 1938).
- HJAS – *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*.
- Holmberg – Uno Holmberg, *Finno-Ugric, Siberian* (Vol. IV of the *Mythology of All Races*), Boston, 1927.
- Houtsma – M. T. Houtsma, *Ein türkisch-arabisches Glossar* (Leiden, 1894).
- HWC – *The History of the World-Conqueror* by ‘Ala-ad-Din ‘Ata-Malik Juvaini, transl. J. A. Boyle, 2 vols. (Manchester, 1958).
- Ibn-Muḥannā – P. Melioransky, “Arab filolog o mongol’skom yazıke”, *ZVOIRAO*, XV, pp. 75-171.
- JA – *Journal Asiatique*.
- JSS – *Journal of Semitic Studies*.
- Khetagurov – Rašid-ad-Dīn, *Sbornik letopisei*, I/1, transl. L.A. Khetagurov (Moscow-Leningrad, 1952).
- Krause – F. E. A. Krause, *Cingis Han: Die Geschichte seines Lebens nach den chinesischen Reichsannalen* (Heidelberg, 1922).
- Leech – Louis Ligeti, “Le lexique moghol de R. Leech”, *Acta Orient. Hung.*, IV, pp. 119-158.
- Lessing – *Mongolian-English Dictionary* compiled by Mattai Haltod, John Gombojab Hangin, Serge Kassatkin and Ferdinand D. Lessing (General Editor) (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1960).
- Ligeti – Louis Ligeti, “Un vocabulaire mongol d’Istanboul”, *Acta. Orient. Hung.*, XIV, pp. 3-99.
- MO – Kirakos Ganjakeci, *Patmut‘yun Hayoç*, ed. K. A. Melik‘-Öhanjanyan (Erevan, 1961).
- Mo. – Written Mongolian.
- Mustaufī – *The Zoological Section of the Nuzhatu-l-Qulūb of Ḥamdullāh al-Mustaufī al-Qazwīnī*, ed. and transl. J. Stephenson (London, 1928).
- Muxtaşar – *Ta’rīx muxtaşar ad-duwal*, ed. A. Şālihānī (Beirut, 1890).
- Pelliot – Paul Pelliot, “Les Formes turques et mongoles dans la nomenclature zoologique du *Nuzhatu-l-kulūb*”, *BSOS*, VI/3, pp. 555-580.
- Qazwīnī – article on the Tartars from the *Cosmography* of Zakariyā b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmud al-Qazwīnī in Kurd von Schlözer, *Abu Dolef Misaris ben Mohalhal de itinere Asiatico commentarius* (Berlin, 1845), pp. 31-33.
- Raverty – *Tabaqāt-i-Nāşirī: A General History of the Muḥammadan Dynasties of Asia...* by the Maulānā, Minhāj-ud-Dīn, Abū-‘Umar-i-

- 'Uṣmān, transl. H. G. Raverty, 2 vols. (London, 1881).
RHR – Revue de l'Histoire des Religions.
 Ricoldo – *Fratrīs Ricoldi de Monte Crucis Ordinis Predicatorum Liber Peregrinationis in Peregrinatores Medii Aevi Quatuor*, ed. J. C. M. Laurent (Leipzig, 1873).
 Rockhill – *The Journey of William of Rubruck to the Eastern Parts of the World*, transl. W. W. Rockhill (London, 1900).
 Siounie – *Histoire de la Siounie* par Stéphannos Orbélian, transl. M. F. Brosset (St. Petersburg, 1864).
 Smirnova – Rašīd-ad-Dīn, *Sbornik letopisei*, I/2, transl. O. I. Smirnova (Moscow-Leningrad, 1952).
 T. – Turkish.
 Vardan – *Hawak'umn Patmut'ean Vardanay Vardapeti* (Venice, 1862).
 ZVOIRAO – *Zapiski vostočnago otdeleniya imperatorskago arxeologičeskago obščestva*.

P.S.: Additions to the following notes:

¹⁷ The Khazars would seem to have eaten their meat in precisely the same fashion as the Mongols. See the *History of the Caucasian Albanians* by Movsēs Dasxuranci, trans. C. J. F. Dowsett, London, 1961. p. 99.

¹⁸ All of these practices are perhaps to be traced back to some such ritual as that performed, according to Movsēs Dasxuranci, by the Khazars (or vassals of the Khazars) in Northern Daghestan, who used to sacrifice horses to oak trees dedicated to Tengri, pouring the animals' blood over the trees and suspending their heads and skins from the branches. See the *History of the Caucasian Albanians*, p. 161, also Minorsky, *A History of Sharvān and Darband in the 10th - 11th Centuries*, Cambridge, 1958, p. 167.

¹⁹ *ēlēp* is apparently a corruption of **ēlēy*; it is the Mo. *eliye* "vautour"; esprit malfaisant en forme d'oiseau" (Kowalewski, p. 206). I am indebted for this identification to Mr. Gy. Kara of Budapest, whom Sir Gerard Clauson kindly consulted on my behalf.